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the brush. In its place they use the tips of wood, small rulers, the back of a knife, or even the finger tips, when they do not smear the coloring plant directly on the object to be decorated. All the pigments are vegetable dyes. The juice of one fleshy fruit (T., na'i'ʰkʊ) furnishes a dark violet which, upon contact with iron, changes into a clear blue. A bright yellow is obtained from the root of the *açafrôa* (*Amaryllis* sp.). The crushed leaves of a jungle plant called bʊ'rë provides green; urucú seeds give a bright red. The fresh colors give a brilliant appearance; they are applied indiscriminately and arbitrarily, without the slightest regard to the natural color of the object reproduced. The best products of Tukuna art are the tururí (bark cloth) costumes of the masqueraders (pls. 16, 17, 18).

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Music

Even less developed than Tukuna sculpture and painting are their songs and musical instruments. The Tukuna sing in an almost imperceptible manner; unless one observed the moving lips one would not know that they were singing, since the sound of their voices is completely muffled by the din of the drums and rattles. At celebrations, certain women were pointed out to me as reputedly good singers, and, in the company of others, they sang expressly for me. Even though they were at a distance of three handbreadths from my ear, I could hardly hear the song. The men sing in equally muted fashion and in falsetto.

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The music is composed sometimes of only two notes infinitely repeated; at other times the melody is a little more varied:

The Tukuna have a very peculiar instrument, which at first glance appears to be a horn, of paxiuba wood, 6½ m. long and slightly conical in the upper part. Its diameter varies from 12 cm. at the mouth to 5 cm. at the mouthpiece. This instrument is called tɔ'/kį, and to see it is taboo for women and the uninitiated (na'-ʊtį ya tɔ'/kį, "the uaricána is taboo"). The tɔ'/kį is not, however, a wind instrument but a megaphone through which one sings and speaks.

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The companion to the tɔ'/kį is the bʊ'/bʊ, a true conical horn from 4 to 6 m. long, made from a long strip of bark of the dʊ:'ru tree, rolled into a spiral and secured by two lateral rods tied along the entire length of the instrument. In the lingua geral, the name uaricána is applied to both the tɔ'/kį and the bʊ'/bʊ. The sound of the bʊ'/bʊ, though loud, is suave and agreeable, and its music, the best the Tukuna have, resembles the very slow playing of a trumpet:

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534 A piston flute, ňĕ'kutʃ (fig. 7, *a*), made from the bark of *cipó mucundʒ* (*Mucuna* sp.), completes this group of wind instruments. The tube is 40 cm. long by 2 cm. in diameter; the piston is a small rod with a wad of *embiru* (envira) at one end.

Two instruments, used by both sexes, invariably accompany any and all ceremonial acts: the small drum and the rattle stick. The first, tu:'tu (pl. 14, *i*) is clearly European. The body is a short cylinder of *ôca de ambaúva* wood (*Cecropia* sp.) from 20 to 30 cm. in diameter. Each end is covered with the dry skin of the guariba monkey or the *surubím* pegged down by a hoop. The two hoops are wedged fast by another pair of hoops placed over them and connected by zigzag cords. A

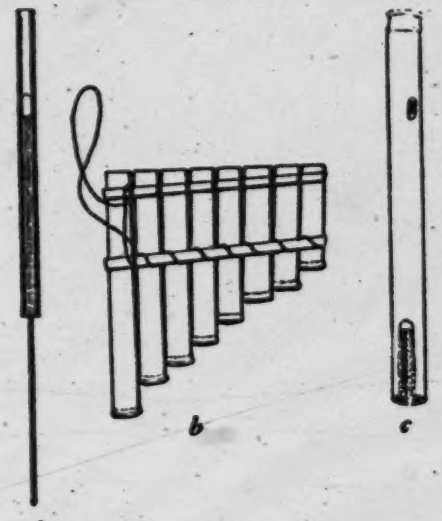

Fig. 7. Musical instruments. *a*. Piston flute, × ⅙. *b*. Panpipes, × ¼. *c*. Bamboo horn, × 1/12.

cord stretched tightly across the drumhead, sometimes with a bead or small piece of metal tied in the center, hums when the drum is struck. The instrument hangs by a loop of cord from the end of the dance staff or dangles from the left hand. The beat, produced with only one drumstick (tu:tu-ňar]-pa 'ru'ʃ[a]) about a hand breadth in size, made of either muirapiranga wood or bone, is simple and measured, marking the rhythm of the dance but not that of the chant, which is carried on independently of the drumbeat.

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534 481 177 Anyone observing the Tukuna marching, to the sound of the drum, with measured step in lines of two or three, one behind the other, with the dance staves over their shoulders, cannot but notice the resemblance to the marching of soldiers. I consider it quite possible that the Tukuna formation is nothing more than an imitation of the soldiers' march, adopted, together with the military snare drum, from the frequent occasions when these Indians attended military exercises at Fort Tabatinga, founded in 1776.

534 114 It is strange that neither the drum nor the dance staff, which are seen today in all the houses and are indispensable at any feast, is mentioned by any of the writers

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who attended earlier Tukuna ceremonies.[1] Maw writes that the arrival of the masked dancers "was announced by a noise (I think by beating a kind of a drum)" and only Bates, in 1857, speaks of a "monotonous see-saw and stamping dance accompanied by singing and drumming."[2]

There are no drums or dance staves in the illustration "Maskenzug der Ticunas" in Spix's atlas, nor are there any in Bates's. However, the European-type drum was spread among tribes to the north of the Amazon, whence it could have come to the Tukuna through other Indians; and Spix attended a dance among the Passé and Yuirí that he characterized as a "nationalen Militärmarsch."[3] However, in this place there was also a foreign military detachment.

Spix gives us an indication of what was probably the original form of the Tukuna drum. Describing the entrance of the masked dancers, he writes: "Den Beschluss machte ein altes hässliches, ganz schwarz bemaltes Weib welches auf einer getrockneten Schilkrötenschale einen einförmigen Tact schlug."[4]

Even today this type of drum, called pɔ:'vi, or tɔri'—from tracajá, "turtle," because it is always made of turtle shell—is used along with the other wood-and-leather drum, although only for specific ceremonies and in a way which differs from that shown in Spix's illustration. Furthermore, the shell is usually much larger, the ones in Spix's plate being from 50 to 60 cm. long. A rod for striking the drum is securely tied on it in a horizontal position. The drum, with the plastron facing up, is hung horizontally from the house roof, about 1 m. from the ground, the two ends of the rod being held by two men, one of whom handles the drumstick while the other shakes the rattle. The head of the drumstick is wrapped in tururí bark cloth. Grasping the rod of the drum, the two men dance four paces to the front and four to the rear. Behind them dance the others.

The text of the chants sung on this occasion refers to the turtle and consists of the repetition of a few words:

1. The turtle is our child.
2. The soft place in the black mud.
3. The cove of the river of half-white water.
4. The grey ambaúvas are his resting place.
5. Like the royal hawk I seize my turtle.
6. His lake has muddied [troubled] water.

and so forth. A strange element is the use of Tupí words in these chants: river, panana' (Tupí, parana'; Tukuna, ta/t|), and royal hawk, virava' (Tupí, w|ra-wasu'; Tukuna, da:v|).

At a fixed moment the two men remove the drum from the cord and, holding it by the ends of the rod, take a few turns with it about the house where the feast is being celebrated, accompanied by the other dancers. This instrument, as well as the dance form, appears to me to be entirely aboriginal.

The large xylophone (slit drums), *torpéna* in the lingua geral, were never used by the Tukúna, who only know of them from the Witóto and Miránya.

[1] Spix and Martius, p. 1188; Maw, p. 220.
[2] Bates, 2:405.
[3] Spix and Martius, p. 1186.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1188.

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202 As a signal of alarm they strike blows with the *olho do terçado*, "eye of the machete,"* on the keel or sides of an overturned canoe, or against a leaning plank.

534 The rattle stick is a substitute for the gourd rattle, *maracá*, which is completely unknown among the Tukuna. It is a crude stick, retaining its bark, about 1 m. or more in length and from 2 to 3 cm. thick. The rattles are tied to the lower third. It is not used in the "military march" mentioned above, but it is never absent from any other ceremony. The beat is often at variance with the measure of the drum, owing to its generally much slower tempo.

The rattles are almost always made of the hulls of one of two species of vegetable: the fruit of the *auaí* (*Thevetia nerifolia;* l.g., auaí, T., a:'ru), the other and smaller one called in Tukuna kɔ'/taru (l.g., *auahy do igapó*). The hulls are suspended from a narrow web plaited from tucum fiber. The masked dancers also carry these hulls attached to the ends of their staves and spears, and even tied below the knee.

An instrument of masculine use, which I do not know whether to consider a variation of the rattle stick or a "stamping tube," is the ba:'/ma, an enormous, thick reed (l.g., tazuaruçú; *Guadua superba* Hub.) about 2½ m. or more long (pl 14, *g*). The upper end, in the shape of a caiman's mouth, is open to a depth of 20 [532] to 30 cm. This mouth is toothed in the masculine and smooth in the feminine specimens. Below the mouth is the small face of a demon, similar to those of the masks, and below this are tied rattles. The rest of the piece is decorated with a few belts [237] of urucú on which are glued hawk feathers.

533 The ba:'/ma are always used in pairs, male and female. Two players dance, one in front of the other, each holding his ba:'/ma in both hands and beating the ground with the lower end, the two instruments being crossed. Since the internal nodes are not removed, the sound is negligible. Like the turtleshell drum, the ba:'/ma is used exclusively by certain clans; it also figures in the legend of the culture heroes.

534 Used in conjunction with the ba:'/ma, there are also the kɔ"'iri, horns of thick bamboo some 70 cm. or more in length and 6 cm. in diameter. One end of the instrument is sealed by a node; the other is open and cut into the shape of a caiman's [532] mouth, exactly like that of the ba:'/ma. Like the latter, the kɔ"'iri are decorated with urucú and hawk plumage. About 15 cm. from the closed end there is a rectangular opening through which one blows into the instrument to produce its single note. It is used only on special occasions—by both sexes and always by three couples. Like the ba:'/ma, the kɔ"'iri are male and female.

Aside from these instruments of ceremonial use there are few musical instruments; such as there are are somewhat suspect as aboriginal instruments or are clearly post-Columbian. Without doubt the flute (vɔvë'ru), made from royal-hawk [237] bone (*Harpya destructor*, L.), is aboriginal, since the hawk occurs in a legend of the culture heroes (see p. 125). It is blown into from one end and has five holes for the fingers—four grouped together on the anterior side and one opposite them on the lower surface. Another flute, cited by Tessmann, is made of bamboo, with two holes close to the lower end; a specimen of this type is in the Berlin Museum. [171] A third flute, with more holes, is just like that used by the Neobrazilian population of the region, but I do not know which was borrowed from whom.

* This refers to the iron ring helving the blade to the grip.—Trans.

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On the third day of the feast, sometimes even on the second, but always after the vərēk|'s hair is plucked, the masqueraders, after receiving a fee in the form of smoked meat, remove their costumes in the center of the house and leave them in a heap to be turned over to the host. 881

A few more comments may be made on the three illustrations of the masked race of the Tukuna in the literature with which I am familiar, the accounts of Spix, Marcoy, and Bates. Spix's artist, when he recomposed the scene, evidently no longer had the masks which Spix had collected or, if he did have them, they were incomplete, so that all or most of them were reconstructed from memory. Only in this way may be explained the following details: the strange cloth tangas worn by some Indians of both sexes; the nudity of nine of the thirteen masqueraders, who are shown wearing only headdresses, which never happens; the lack of fringes on the costumes (which probably had already been removed when Spix acquired the costumes);[11] the uncovered face of one of the masqueraders, which is contrary to all the elementary rules; the child carried in the arms instead of in a sling; and the turtleshell drum being beaten from the wrong side. Finally, the solemn pace of the persons in the illustration disagrees with the text, which states that they danced and leaped about like goats. Equally in disagreement with the text are the age of the child as portrayed and the color of the woman playing the drum. 881 114

Even less accurate, however, is the representation of the masquerade in Marcoy's work; it suggests that the author never attended such a ceremony and never had at hand the costumes, which he probably never succeeded in seeing. The best of the three accounts is that of Bates, who, however, conveys the erroneous impression that the ceremony he saw was a wedding.

Songs of the masquerades.—It appears that anciently each type of masked dancer owned its own songs, which the performers sang when they presented themselves. But nowadays very few know how to recite them, and many chants are already forgotten, just as are many stories referring to the origin of certain costumes. The following three songs are literal translations from Tukuna texts. 533 539 881

Song of the Two Saguins

The feast was ending. In the hut she was making a sieve. She caressed the marmoset [*saguim*] and said to him: "dya/dyu, if only thou wert a man to sing for food for me!" He then left. On the way he met his brother-in-law. "Let us enter [the feast house]!" he sang. He repeated what his mistress had said to him. "My mistress, dyĕkuʼčina, said to me: 'dya/dyu, if only thou wert a man to sing for food for me!'" They gave her smoked meat from the feast. His brother-in-law dʼkara-čin| [long ears] answered. He sang: "Go ahead! Put it [the smoked meat] on top of my ear; thou shalt see how tiny my hand is!" 539

Song of the Maize Masquerade

O mortal! If thou hadst not been well guarded already, I should not have been taken away for thee from the underworld ĕčĕaʼku. In ancient times arĭáʼna, by being immortal, took me from the underworld ĕčĕaʼku! (See pp. 112 f.)

Song of the Rotten-Log Masquerade

Penica-pau![12] yataʼ-yataʼ, slowly or thou wilt splinter ĕʼranĕnĕʼ [name of the rotten log], the customary place of the yellow macaws, the jutting end [of the log]!

[11] These fringes are removed after the presentation of the masks. See p. 90.
[12] A southern Brazilian variant of *pica-pau*, "woodpecker."

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881 ***Beginning of the ceremony.***—By this time, if not before, the paternal uncle of the present or prospective vorẽkị has assumed his function as director of the ceremony, called vorẽkị-c̣ę̣į̣', "drink of the girl." Sometimes he hangs his hammock next to the front wall of the seclusion room, since he is responsible for the girl. He is aided by his wife and the vorẽkị's mother, and by other relatives if necessary, in serving the drinks. The girl's father takes no part in the ceremony that directly concerns her person; the guests are his responsibility.

881 5714 ***The arrival of the guests.***—In the afternoon the first canoe bringing guests draws up to the feast house. If the guest is someone of importance, the owner of the house, beating his drum and accompanied by some members of the family, who strike the rattle stick on the ground, goes to the door to receive and conduct the visitor. The guest goes up to the house, with long tucum fibers trailing down behind his back. His costume, if he has one, remains concealed in the canoe. Some time later, his wife also goes up, with the burden basket and the children, to hang up the hammocks in the feast house in the place indicated by the hosts. The recent arrivals greet all those who are already in the house with: "Nu'ma!," and all respond with the same word. Everyone is daubed with genipapo on the face, the women more liberally than the men (fig. 10), and the savage appearance that this paint gives to the features often contrasts strangely with the civilized clothing and the perfume flask, the neck of which protrudes from the coat pocket. The sides of the house are filled with hammocks and baggage, but the center remains free for the dance and the ceremonies. The men, almost all of whom carry their carved and painted dance staves (see p. 41) and their own small drums, seat themselves on long benches, which are customarily placed at the edge of the central space. Here the "uncle" of the vorẽkị first gives them a swallow of paiauarú brew in a small gourd and then afterward serves the paiauarú proper in a large gourd.

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Fig. 10. Facial paint (genipapo) for a ceremony.

881 535 533 ***The beginning of the dance.***—Soon some arise, place the dance staves across their shoulders, hang the little drums on the lower tips, and, hitting the drums with a measured beat, begin to march by twos and threes in single file around the margin of the central space. They are preceded by the owner of the house with his drum, or by some other member of the family who occasionally takes over, it being a question of honor for the players not to stop the drumbeat once the ceremony has started. Thus passes the eve of the celebration.

881 386 ***Preparation for dressing the girl.***—After midnight, about two or three o'clock in the morning, the vorẽkị ceremony begins with the preparation of genipapo dye with which to decorate her, and also of white tururí for her costume. A basket containing some forty genipapo fruits is placed in the center of the house, together with a scraper, some leaves of a plant called nu"u" (*Aroidea* ?), two muirapiranga mallets, and two sticks of white tururí, 2.5 m. long and 5 cm. thick. Half a meter below the upper tip of these a circular furrow is cut in the bark.

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At this feast, as at the feast of children's depilation and ear piercing, masks are used (pl. 65, *top*). These are made, used, and cared for by the guests, who portray anything they wish, such as imaginary demons and fantastic animals. They are in no way associated with individual persons, societies, or other groups. The masked persons customarily remain unidentified until they deliver their masks to the host. About 90 percent of those wearing masks are men, 7 percent boys, and the remainder girls and young women. For costume, clothing is cut and sewn from the bast fiber of certain trees (*Ficus* sp.), sometimes in the shape of pants, sleeves, and fringes; and at other times in the form of a tight gown without sleeves, extending half way down the leg. The face, generally a horrendous caricature of a demon (pl. 64, *top, right*), may be attached to or separate from the costume. The mask representing the storm demon is distinguished by an enormous face and a phallus nearly 18 inches (½ m.) long. Nearly all clothes are painted with vegetable dyes. Sometimes the motif of the mask is identified by the song rather than by the appearance of the mask, which is entirely a product of the individual's imagination. The masked people, sometimes numbering 40 to 50, gather in a special place in the woods, and go to the house in groups up to 10, some of them running up and down at a furious pace, and others approaching slowly. They come for a drink, then disappear to make way for another group.

At the appointed time the guests arrive at the house with their families, sometimes numbering more than 300 persons. They are received inside along the walls, the center being left open for the ceremonies. When all have assembled, they go to the kitchen to be painted with urucú and to have their faces decorated with royal sparrow hawk down. After everyone receives a piece of roast meat, all return in a solemn procession to the house and put their meat on a stand on the side of the seclusion room. On the other side are the vessels of beverages. The feast now begins. Henceforth, everyone goes around the central space in the house singing to the accompaniment of small drums and carrying his dancing stick on his shoulder.

Early in the morning, the girl is brought through a door from the seclusion room to the fenced place around the megaphone where, with her face turned to the proper cardinal point, she is adorned with genipa and white turury that have been ceremonially prepared. Before sunset, she is decorated in the seclusion room with streamers of royal sparrow hawk plumage, a long macaw feather diadem, feather bracelets with white turury fringes, strings of feathers made of toucan abdomens and tails, shell bells with bone clappers, and ear pegs, which are prepared by skilled persons and tried out by her relatives. The women fan her with broad leaves. She then stands in her room facing the place where the megaphone and trumpet are sounded and scratching herself with a little stick. The guests in the main room are given meat and fish stew and cooked bananas.

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ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

532 **Art.**—The *Tucuna* were fine sculptors. Their carved figures on the dancing sticks, stools, and tucumã nut figures in their necklaces are at times very artistic. Painting is restricted mainly to masks and pottery ornamentation.

533 534 **Music.**—During feasts, the *Tucuna* sing in a falsetto voice so low that it can hardly be heard. Three important instruments are: (1) a wooden, tubular megaphone into which they speak and sing and which is 22 feet (6¾ m.) long with an opening 5 inches (12 cm.) wide and a mouthpiece 2 inches (5 cm.) long; (2) a conical trumpet 13 feet to 19½ feet (4 to 6 m.) long made of a strip of bark wound spirally; and (3) a piston whistle made of liana bark. The last is always sounded before the other two. In any ceremony there is always a faithful imitation of the European drum and a *Thevetia*-shell rattle, the latter taking the place of the conventional maracá, which is unknown. The old form of drum was possibly the shell of a chelonium, which now is used only in one ceremonial. There are also panpipes, bone flutes, and bamboo horns.

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526 **Adult games.**—In shuttlecock, a maize-husk ball is batted into the air with the palm of the hand by men standing in a ring. In a tug-of-war in which a thick liana is used, one team of men competes against another. A ring-and-pin game is played by two men facing each other. Grown girls make cats cradles with threads wrapped around the fingers, toes, and head.

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273 **Beverages.**—Women make alcoholic beverages from maize, cooked bitter manioc, and half-burned cakes (beijú) of manioc; the last was adopted from the Neo-Brazilians. Today many men are addicted to rum.

[177] [733]

SHAMANISM

754 756 Even today many Indians possess magic powers to help or harm others. These powers come from intercourse with the spirits of certain trees with which an old shaman puts his disciple in contact. The neophyte shaman receives a magic substance which contains invisible thorns. He throws these into his victim's body, where they reproduce and cause his death unless another shaman sucks them out and completes the cure by applying herbs. The shaman chews tobacco (formerly, he used a tubular wooden pipe with an opening on the side for the mouth) to become possessed of the spirit which supplied the magic pathogenic substance to the witch doctor. Chewing tobacco identifies the evil shaman.

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753 Children fall ill when the spirits of the trees kidnap their souls. Epidemics come from the sun and are spread by the wind.

683 672 When the *Tucuna* are convinced that a shaman is responsible for one or more deaths, their revenge even reaches his relatives. In 1942, three *Tucuna* killed a much-feared shaman and his two sons. The avengers

The master of the hut then addresses the stranger, and in the hollow ventriloqual tones peculiar to the Ticunas, asks, "Who are you?—Where do you come from?—Are you friend or foe?—What brings you here?" The stranger satisfies these inquiries one after the other; or, more frequently, his visit having only a commercial aim, is content to answer by exhibiting the articles he brings, and which he desires to exchange for the products of Ticuna industry. The arms are then cast aside in order to discuss the value of the goods offered and those wanted; it will be readily understood that the discussion is intermingled with numerous requisitions on the caisuma. The articles of Ticuna industry consist of yucca-flour, blowing-pipes, hammocks, hunting-poison, and coarse cotton goods.

Some young girls with short-cut hair whom we had noticed among the Ticunas led us for a moment to believe that they shared the custom of cropping with the Yahuas; but the information we obtained on this subject disabused us of the notion. The cropped pate of these young girls was only the visible sign of their having attained the age of puberty, and was the complement of the mysterious practice which the tribes of the Plain of Sacramento, and notably the Conibos, call *Schébianabiqui*. The Ticunas name it *Ihiéboah*, an expression which is less humorous than the other, and which may be translated "young girl," from *ihié*, woman, and *boah*, child.

After translating the word, it remains to describe the custom itself.

When the matrons find that a female child has attained puberty, they take possession of the young girl, conduct her in a procession to a hut built in a lonely place for the purpose, shut her up in it after providing some food and a vessel of water, and then leave her for forty-eight hours, the victim of *ennui* or her reflections. At the expiration of this time the matrons come to deliver their prisoner; but before giving her complete liberty, they rub her head with the milky juice of a *ficus*, which instantaneously coagulates, and forms, under the rotatory motion of the palms of their hands, a multitude of little balls, within which is entangled the hair of the young girl. These little balls, which the matrons snatch away one by one for amusement, tear away the hair with them, and make the patient scream with pain; two musicians, with their backs to the entrance of the hut, play an accompaniment to this proceeding on the flageolet and tambourine.

When the head of the victim has been thus completely stripped, the women cover it with a hood of yellow feathers, the shape of which reminds one of a species of toadstool (*Boletus*); in the centre of this is fixed a plume of feathers from the tail of the ara. Thus accoutred, the young girl, frightened and crying, is first led round the village, and then conducted in succession to the river-side and the forest, continually followed by the matrons, who whip her roughly with green boughs in order to harden her against the trouble to come.

After several hours of wandering in this manner, and an indefinite number of draughts of caisuma which the young girl is forced to drink, they introduce her into a hut where a new hammock has been slung for the purpose. Utterly broken down with fatigue, drunkenness, and the switchings so unsparingly administered, she tumbles into the swinging net and immediately falls into a profound sleep. In the meantime, the assembled nation celebrates, with games and a remarkable consumption of fermented liquor, the Ihiéboah fete.